

# Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

## Protest march to H-base 'OPPOSE ANY H-GOVERNMENT'

No. 1,144 May 30, 1958 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

From a Special Correspondent



The anti-H-bomb marchers moving off from Oxford Sunday at the start of their trek to the Brize Norton air base. Oxford Mail.

**IN SPITE OF ROWDY OPPOSITION** at the beginning of the Whitsun anti-H-bomb march to Brize Norton, 235 people set off from St. Giles, Oxford, last Sunday in the smoke of tear-gas. Numbers had increased to over 300 when the demonstration ended peacefully outside the bomber base on Monday afternoon—accompanied by the roar of the American planes.

The organisers described it as "a march protesting against the whole policy of the nuclear deterrent, against the manufacture, stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons and against the patrol flights of aeroplanes carrying H-bombs."

The RAF Brize Norton air base is leased to the United States Air Force. Patrol flights carrying H-bombs are reported to take place from it. The organisers and speakers emphasised that the march was not anti-American, but against all nuclear weapons.

The speakers at the St. Giles' Rally impressed the crowd with their forceful arguments and were not silenced by cries of "We want McWhirter" nor by the tear-gas bomb which was thrown into the crowd.

Mr. Kennedy McWhirter had staged a counter demonstration with banners stating that "NATO means Peace."

"I find it difficult to believe that the people standing over there consider this matter should be treated frivolously," said Dr. Peter Astbury, Lecturer in Nuclear Physics at London University in reply to hecklers.

"I do not believe there is one of those noisy people who would take upon themselves the decision to destroy the human

"We now need more than ever men who are dangerous to entrenched evil in the world. Be dangerous under God."

Mr. S. O. Davies, MP, and Mr. Fred Stanley, Chairman of the Witney Labour Party, also spoke at the Witney Rally. They insisted that this was not a party matter.

"I would oppose any government that encouraged the testing and manufacture of hydrogen bombs," said Mr. Stanley.

Mrs. Peggy Duff and Mr. Davies both emphasised the fact that Britain was likely to be the last of the three powers to suspend tests.

### PLANES' ROAR

The marchers spent the night in Witney, most of them in the Church Hall. The big banner at the front was taken over from Coun. Edmund Gibbs, one of the seven members of Oxford City Council on the march, by a schoolboy from East Ham.

In spite of university regulations over 20 undergraduates marched out from Oxford and there was a large contingent of Ruskin College students.

The reception in Witney was mixed. One landlord at first refused to serve marchers in his inn. But everywhere in the town the march and its objectives were being discussed.

The marchers reached Brize Norton

### 7 LEAVE FOR MOSCOW

SEVEN British peace organisations are represented by a delegation which left London for Moscow on Tuesday.

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### 'Go further'

—LABOUR PEACE FELLOWSHIP

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SEVEN British peace organisations are represented by a delegation which left London for Moscow on Tuesday.

"We are to have a fortnight's discussion with the Soviet Peace Committee on an agenda which has been agreed in advance and contains all the subjects we regard as of fundamental importance," Stuart Morris told Peace News.

The delegation consists of:

Eric Tucker, Friends Peace Committee.

Max Parker, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Rev. W. W. Simpson, National Peace Council.

Roy Gore, British Peace Committee.

Mr. le Gros Clark, Science for Peace.

Mrs. Gundry, Women's International League.

Stuart Morris, Peace Pledge Union.

## Pacifists see Strauss

From Jim Peck.

ADMIRAL STRAUSS, Chairman of the US Atomic Energy Commission, met the group of 15 pacifists after six days of their week long sit-in and fast in the lobby of AEC headquarters in Germantown, Md., near Washington DC.

The action which ended on May 13 was in protest against the arrest of the crew of the Golden Rule.

During the hour-long discussion Admiral Strauss held firm to the necessity for continuing the tests.

## TWO-WEEK MARCH

A COAST-TO-COAST march across Yorkshire and Lancashire will start on Friday evening, June 27, concluding July 6, organised by a sub-committee of Hull Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Further details will appear in next week's Peace News. Enquiries should be sent to Francis Deutsch, 13 Park Grove, Hull.

## 'Go further'

### —LABOUR PEACE FELLOWSHIP

QUESTIONS concerning industrial strike action against rocket bases, the situation in Algeria and political action in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament were put to a Brains Trust at the close of the Annual General Meeting of the Labour Peace Fellowship at the Caxton Hall, London, on May 17.

Leslie Hale, MP, was a member of the Brains Trust and Victor Yates, MP, the Question Master. Earlier, the Secretary, Dennis Brian, had reported an increase in members during the year; also several Co-op. Guilds and Labour Parties had affiliated.

Two resolutions were passed unanimously at the meeting. The first welcomed the Labour Party campaign against H-bomb tests and for Summit talks, but regretted "that Labour has not clearly called upon Britain to end the manufacture of nuclear weapons, reliance on them and the end to all bomb bases in these islands."

The second reaffirmed the LPF's opposition to the continuation of military conscription and called upon Labour "to stand by its declaration to work for its early abolition."

The LPF has arranged an autumn conference in the South and is to hold a public meeting at Scarborough during the Labour Party Conference.

### STOP PRESS

## CUP FINAL RESULT

(See Sybil Morrison's article in last week's Peace News.)

US Air Force beat RAF by 182 points out of 3,600. RAF's second defeat in precision bombing competition in seven months.

"More humiliating," says News Chronicle, "because it happened on the RAF's home ground."

Number of spectators unknown, estimated umpteen millions.

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"I find it difficult to believe that the people standing over there consider this matter should be treated frivolously," said Dr. Peter Astbury, Lecturer in Nuclear Physics at London University in reply to hecklers.

"I do not believe there is one of those noisy people who would take upon themselves the decision to destroy the human race."

Dr. Astbury elaborated the dangers of the hydrogen bomb on the basis of the scientific facts available.

## WORSE THAN DEATH

"The people who are the most informed are the most worried," he said.

The Rev. John Betton, Priest-in-charge at St. Luke's Church, Cowley, spoke second.

He said that he was not a pacifist and believed it right to restrain "thug nations."

"But whether it is right to restrain them by annihilation is a different matter," he said. "There are some things that are far worse than death. One of them is that we might wipe out some other country and then justify ourselves afterwards."

Hecklers greeted him by singing "Onward Christian Soldiers," and then questioned him about the "deterrent" policy.

"A deterrent can only be of use if it can be used effectively," said the Rev. Betton. "An H-bomb can only be used for annihilation."

Mr. Gene Sharp, Assistant Editor of Peace News, made a similar point when he told the counter demonstrators that the H-bomb had been powerless to help the students in Budapest.

He agreed with their slogan that "Dictatorship means slavery," but said that there was nothing so dictatorial as the threat to destroy the human race.

Another American, the Rev. Richard Ruopp, a Congregational minister, addressed the marchers when they arrived at Witney on Sunday evening.

"People have labelled you," he said. "We always label what we want to get rid of."

"If they call you Communists, crackpots, anti-American, I hope they will also call you dangerous."

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In spite of university regulations over 20 undergraduates marched out from Oxford and there was a large contingent of Ruskin College students.

The reception in Witney was mixed. One landlord at first refused to serve marchers in his inn. But everywhere in the town the march and its objectives were being discussed.

The marchers reached Brize Norton next day, where they proceeded in silence to the camp's main gate, saw the triple fence of barbed wire and heard the planes roaring overhead.

They returned to the village for the final rally and gave an especially warm welcome to Mr. Harold Steele.

Dr. Alex Comfort, Mr. Mervyn Jones and Mr. Gene Sharp were the other speakers.

Mr. Jones said the campaign was for Western values, for truth and realism and hope. On no issue had so many lies and evasions been expressed by the Government.

Gene Sharp, making his second speech, told the marchers: "Millions of Americans are with you," and described recent protests in the US.

A report on his speech will appear in PN next week.

## Rocket backfires

THE Army's prize exhibit at Southend last week-end, a 40-foot Thunderbird rocket, intended to attract recruits "for a rocket army," backfired on the military and attracted flanks of demonstrators who kept a silent protest vigil.

Despite a normal month's rainfall on Monday, the three-day vigil, organised by local Anglican clergyman Father S. Hinkes, was completed and attracted much attention.

## TOP PEOPLE SELL PN!

JOHN FISHER, well-known local pacifist speaker and Peace News seller, topped the poll in his ward at the Chigwell Urban District Council election.

The retiring chairman of the Civil Defence Committee who was opposing John Fisher went to the bottom.

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# Non-violent action and the DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR REVOLT

**B**AYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary of the War Resisters' League and an Editor of Liberation, was one of the H-protest team which recently visited Europe and was denied entry into the U.S.S.R. He told Peace News last Friday about his impressions during their mission.

In France, he said, the H-protest team spoke with three or four people in the Chamber of Deputies, and others, and found that the general attitude was that the H-bomb might be an important item, but France is so concerned with Algeria that you find no major group seriously interested in discussing the bomb.

## In France

They argued that France is being taken over by the United States, that the Algerian question cannot be settled because America wants to mess up the works so that she can get the oil of the Sahara and use the Sahara for missile bases.

Therefore, the French position is that they *must* manufacture and test an H-bomb in order to be able to sit in councils with Britain and America as an equal (which is the British case also).

Therefore, regardless of the consequences, they take the view that Algerians and Americans would be behaving in quite different ways, that they could get support from Britain for their cause, if only they had tested an H-bomb. This was the view of both Right and Left.

The situation in Germany I found to be rather like Britain, really: people deeply disturbed, thousands of them appearing in the street, but the same old problem: you look around for how this is to be politically or socially organised into a movement which can find expression in the legislature, and there isn't anything.

The Trade Unions, in failing to go ahead with the business of a strike, really took all the heart out of the movement in any real political terms.

That there will be more and more meetings, I am sure, because the frustration will be greater, but when you look for a place to pin this down so that it has meaning, it just doesn't.

## In Germany

Referring to the Soviet denial of visas to the team, Bayard Rustin continued: As regards our work, I don't think it'll have any effect on us at all—except that we shall redouble our efforts.

**The difficulty which I see is that of channelling this anti-H-bomb sentiment into agencies which already exist and which can be a leverage in the whole political structure.**

In the United States you have the most difficult task in doing this. There is no Trade Union movement that's worth the name.

## In the U.S.A.

I just don't know any way you can pin it down, so to start with we're going to have some sort of re-evaluation. We hope to have a meeting soon in Pendle Hill (US Quaker centre) of the combined leadership of the pacifist movement for three or four days to deal with this particular problem.

I shouldn't think it would be a bad idea if you did the same thing in Britain. It seems to me there's really an educational job to be done somewhere.

**The idea that, somehow or other, when you get enough people to be pacifists, that you're going to effect something is to put off any action for hundreds of years.**

We're not going to get people who believe in non-violence in principle ever to be socially organised; for one thing, once they believe in it in principle, two-thirds of them are unorganisable. There's something that happens which gives you the strength, on the one side, to stand out so vigorously against society, and the other side of that coin is absolute individualism.

If you look around the world, wherever non-violence has been useful, it has been so because there has been a leadership able to apply the principles of non-violence to a specific evil, and which the people in the campaign understood in those limited

## FIVE AMERICANS, DENIED VISAS, SEND Protest letter to Khrushchov

**T**HE five American representatives of Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons who were recently denied entry into the Soviet Union have returned home.

After waiting 17 days at Helsinki for visas which had been promised by Soviet officials in Washington several weeks earlier, they were told by an official at the Soviet Consulate that, while there was no official word from Moscow, it was his "private opinion" that they would not get visas to enter Russia.

**The American team wrote to Mr. Khrushchov "to register a strong protest since the Soviet Government has refused to inform us openly that visas have been denied."**

"Such tactics," they wrote, "are transparent, less than frank, and calculated to avoid the responsibility of announcing openly a negative decision. These methods cannot engender trust—an element essential for peace in our time."

## Paralyzed by fear

Informing Premier Khrushchov that they protested also against the arrest of the crew of their ketch, the Golden Rule, which attempted to sail into the US testing area at Eniwetok, as well as against the Soviet denial of visas to their peace mission, the Americans wrote: "it is obvious that neither the Soviet Union nor the United States is seriously prepared to encourage the examination of a new course in international relations."

"The leaders of neither nation seem to realise the bankruptcy of military deterrence. In each nation the leaders seem to be paralyzed by fear, and behave as if the truth were not true."

**"The arrest of the crew of the Golden Rule by the United States and the refusal**

**of the Soviet Government to admit us is not a happenstance (coincidence). These actions spring from the psychological rigidity and suspicion that enmesh those who place their reliance on military power.**

"To reject without serious consideration new approaches or efforts is further evidence that the grave possibility of world suicide cannot really be comprehended by national leaders if they are engaged at the same time in the policy of deterrence. One cannot prepare for war and peace at the same time."

## Wisdom of non-violence

"There is growing evidence that mankind can exist in peace and freedom, and civilisation advance, only if some nation is courageous enough to accept the moral and political wisdom of Gandhi-like non-violence."

**About 500 copies of the Russian leaflet which the American team had prepared for distribution to citizens and officials of the Soviet Union were sent from Helsinki to such people as the Chairmen of Communist cells in Soviet universities and key citizens in the academies of Arts, Sciences and Letters.**

A covering letter was also sent, emphasising "that peace attained through dedication to non-violent action is our goal; that the 'Cold War' power manoeuvres of both sides can only end in tragedy for all. A rethinking of our mutual reliance on deterrents and threats of retaliation, and a recognition of the intrinsic dangers inherent in these methods, is imperative."

## Nuclear weapons for Switzerland?

### From RALPH HEGNAUER

**R**EPRESENTATIVES of most Swiss political groups and parties, many religious, cultural, social and trade union organisations, were present at a meeting of 120 people in Berne, Switzerland, on May 18 which decided on steps to prevent the Swiss Army being provided with nuclear weapons.

Prominent Government and Army representatives

new means of defence would have to be sought.

The logic of the campaign may lead to people considering a fresh comprehensive defence policy on an altogether different level.

## PUBLIC MEETING

Monday, June 2, 7.30 p.m.



the street, but the same old problem: you look around for how this is to be politically or socially organised into a movement which can find expression in the legislature, and there isn't anything.

**The Trade Unions, in failing to go ahead with the business of a strike, really took all the heart out of the movement in any real political terms.**

That there will be more and more meetings, I am sure, because the frustration will be greater, but when you look for a place to pin this down so that it has meaning, it just doesn't.

### In Germany

We spoke with one of the men in the Foreign Office for about two hours, and he took the view that Germany was very happy to be without these weapons, but so long as either the United States or the Soviet Union had them, then Germany must—and all the arguments which you already have. The feeling among liberal people in Germany—East and West—is that the rise of Nazis to power positions all over Germany, and the possibility of economic strife in Germany if there is continued depression in the US is so grave, that they feel that the general idea of having a German army at all is a real threat.

But, they always added—and this comes from liberal people including some "pacifists"—with all the dangers, Germany had to be in a position of having missiles, simply because if people were not prepared really to organise for non-violent resistance, then this was the lesser of two evils.

I think my own brief observation is that the Trade Unions and many other groups in Germany are using the H-bomb issue not because they are fundamentally opposed to the H-bomb, but in order to whip up sentiment for themselves for elections; and if and when the time comes, they're going to behave very much like the Adenauer government is behaving—like the British Labour Party.

But I think that all over the world we are faced with the problem as we work on this business: there is no doubt in my mind that millions of people are with us, but we have nothing to tie them into which really has any weight in the councils, and if the Trade Union movement is not going to move forward with a vigorous programme of direct action—we're sunk.

People will more and more get whipped up into this for a short time and then it will appear so big to them that they'll say: "What's the use? There's no way of really getting at it."

years. We're not going to get people who believe in non-violence in principle ever to be socially organised; for one thing, once they believe in it in principle, two-thirds of them are unorganisable. There's something that happens which gives you the strength, on the one side, to stand out so vigorously against society, and the other side of that coin is absolute individualism.

If you look around the world, wherever non-violence has been useful, it has been so because there has been a leadership able to apply the principles of non-violence to a specific evil, and which the people in the campaign understood in those limited terms.

### In Montgomery

You must also have in the leadership some people who understand non-violence in principle or else the strategic non-violence will probably not come off. The great campaign issues have been because there was a specific problem to which a leader brought non-violence.

I can assure you that most of the people who were engaged in the campaign in Montgomery were the same old people with the same old prejudices, who came into it for very vulgar reasons of their own, but in the process got whipped into something new, but who at this moment do not believe in non-violence in principle.

There's an absence of social planning in this kind of thinking that you're going to get the world to be COs.

It's immoral: you must not ask people or expect that they can take a step which they cannot take honestly. There are few people who can take a step against all armaments, but if they can be got into a movement which takes a step against a limited amount of it, this is the educational process, and they learn in the process of being involved in an H-bomb campaign.

### Briefly

A letter protesting against "The Iniquity of present national defence methods," was headlined in the South Wales Evening Post last week.

The signatories were 50 "Swansea religious leaders of many denominations."

An International Vegetarian Summer Camp will be held from August 11-17 at the Bodensee Lake, Germany, for young people between 15 and 25 years of age, at a cost of DM40. Further information from Deutsche Reform-Jugend, Niederhöchstadt (Taunus), Germany.

# Nuclear weapons for Switzerland?

From RALPH HEGNAUER

REPRESENTATIVES of most Swiss political groups and parties, many religious, cultural, social and trade union organisations, were present at a meeting of 120 people in Berne, Switzerland, on May 18 which decided on steps to prevent the Swiss Army being provided with nuclear weapons.

Prominent Government and Army personnel have been considering ways and means of equipping the army with tactical nuclear weapons despite the fact that Switzerland cannot produce her own nuclear weapons and cannot get them from the USA without becoming a NATO member which Swiss neutrality makes impossible.

### NEW DEFENCE POLICY

At the meeting it was decided to prepare an "initiative"—a statement asking for a change in the Constitution which, when signed by 50,000 male citizens, makes it obligatory for the Government and Parliament to work out the appropriate legislative paragraphs and put them before the people in the form of a referendum.

The "initiative," which will be launched in the autumn, aims at including in the Swiss Constitution a paragraph forbidding "any manufacture, import, transit, storage and use of nuclear weapons of any kind, or parts of them, on the whole territory of the Swiss Confederation."

A Committee was elected which will appoint an Executive. Organisational preparations have begun in order to spread the news of the planned "initiative" among the people throughout the country.

As it was hoped to get three or four times the required number of signatures it was decided to form local committees in each locality of some importance to prepare the ground.

The initiative may be accompanied by a petition to Parliament (another right guaranteed to the Swiss by their Constitution) submitted and signed by women and youth.

The meeting hoped that, if successful, the Constitutional amendment prohibiting nuclear weapons in Switzerland would be the Swiss people's part in the world-wide campaign for nuclear disarmament.

Some of those present felt that eventually

new means of defence would have to be sought.

The logic of the campaign may lead to people considering a fresh comprehensive defence policy on an altogether different level.

### PUBLIC MEETING

Monday, June 2, 7.30 p.m.

Central Hall, Bristol,  
Old Market Street.

Speakers:

**JOHN BERGER,  
A. J. P. TAYLOR**

Bristol Campaign for Nuclear  
Disarmament

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## Canadian rally against the bomb

From NANCY HILL

**T**AKING part in a Christian rally to protest against H-bomb testing, groups from two United Churches and from Friends House marched through Toronto, Canada, on May 11.

Banners read "Christ or the bomb?" "Save our children; every test kills," "Canada's uranium for peace," and "Stop the tests now."

The demonstration was a follow-up of an Easter Sunday poster parade, sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation to protest against H-bomb tests.

A crowd of about 300 listened to two speakers, Anglican V. I. Goring, and pacifist Dr. Finlay of the United Church, who held that there were no religious grounds for testing the bomb. Dr. Finlay insisted that nuclear weapons were being used to an end, which violates Christian principles and that the church had a right and duty to preach against the bomb.

## PARTY TO FIGHT DISARMAMENT BY-ELECTION

**F**ORTY delegates, representing a growing membership, were present at the Fellowship Party's Third Annual Conference in London last month. Many interested members of the public filled the small Kingsway Hall for the open meeting in the evening.

They heard appeals for support from two ex-Labour Councillors, Pat Deighan (Lancaster) and Bob Walsh (Paddington), who had transferred their allegiance to the new party which stands uncompromisingly for unilateral disarmament.

Answering criticisms of splinter groups, Bob Walsh recalled that the Labour Party started as one. The odds against the Labour Party in 1900 "were greater than those against the Fellowship Party in 1958."

The new General Secretary, Derek Walker, stressed the importance of contesting the first suitable by-election on the issue of unilateral disarmament. A member promptly promised to donate half the election deposit.

Derek Walker is now on the editorial staff of the British Weekly. He is a former London School of Economics student.

# On trial in Honolulu

CREW'S STATEMENTS TO THE COURT

**T**HE four-man crew of the Golden Rule were sentenced to 60 days' imprisonment in Honolulu for "criminal contempt of court" after ignoring a Federal injunction.

Sponsored by Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, they were sailing to the Eniwetok H-bomb testing area to protest against the testing of nuclear weapons.

**The defendants are claiming that the Atomic Energy Commission's regulation to prevent ships entering the test area is void because it violates the freedom of the seas; and that Judge Wiig's restraining order curtails religious freedom and rights of conscience in violation of the First Amendment of the US Constitution.**

The crew refused to accept probation, reports Christopher Nicholson from Honolulu, because they felt they "could not in good conscience abide by the terms," but Federal Judge Jon Wiig said that his sentences were unchanged and their probation stands despite their refusal to sign the probation papers.

## Stream of visitors

"It is possible," Nicholson adds, "that they will decide to sail again in spite of the injunction, and in this case they would probably receive a longer sentence."

"Local interest has been worked up to a high pitch," he continues, "and there has been almost a constant stream of visitors to the Friends Meeting House and the ketch." The men were staying there before their suspended sentence was considered by the Judge.

"The newspaper coverage has been very adequate . . . the public reaction to the voyage has, I think, been favourable. We hope to have some more public meetings so that a greater number of people can meet the crew personally."

When the crew of the Golden Rule were found guilty of contempt of court, Judge Wiig commented: "We operate under rules of law, not of men."

In presenting the Government's case at the hearing, Louis B. Blissard, US Attorney, had referred to the crew members as "four misguided people who insisted on taking the law into their own hands and now stand before the world as deliberate defiers of law and order."

## Compelled by conscience

The four men were then allowed to make

silent and inactive while this evil persists in to give assent to it."

## Christian witness

Honolulu religious leaders have added their voices to local opinions on the Golden Rule's mission. Said the Episcopal Bishop of Honolulu: "I can't sympathise with those who break the law."

"I am a loyal American," announced Dr. Harold L. Fickett (Baptist). "I am absolutely, unequivocally and without reservation in favour of what we (the Government) are doing."

The Rev. Joseph Robeck (Roman Catholic) said of the H-tests: "I have confidence in my Government. If they say it's necessary, that's good enough for me. If those above feel it's necessary for world peace, I go along with them."

But Dr. Albert Buchner Coe (Congregationalist) dissented: "I am in favour of every possible resistance to the spread of nuclear testing. I believe it should be stopped now. We're going too far, too fast."

"I would stand by (the pacifists) in their sincere effort. I believe in them. Quakers are always endeavouring to make the Christian witness. Unless somebody takes a stand, we're headed for complete world destruction."

Meanwhile, Honolulu Quaker Christopher Nicholson comments: "We feel as though history were being made in Honolulu, and we are all grateful that we have had this opportunity to meet the crew and re-evaluate our pacifist principles."

The appeal of the crew was to be heard in San Francisco on May 21.

## Non-violence in a prison without locks

**W**HAT is now taking place at Leyhill may well be an encouragement to those who believe in the effectiveness of

May 30, 1958—PEACE NEWS—3  
To ex-Mayors and others

**A**CHEQUE has come in for the Peace News Fund for £20.

"Just sold my Mayor's Robe to the new Mayor-elect for that sum," writes the donor. "It may encourage old 'Mayors' to do the same."

This gift did not come from the Mayor of an English town. What about a similar mayoral deal in this country?

And why leave it to the Mayors?

Is there something you can sell to raise money for Peace News? Or can you take a collection for us when meeting friends?

Our sales are moving upwards, but not quickly enough to make us independent of the extra income raised by this fortnightly appeal.

We need £500 by the end of June.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions during the last two weeks: £54 16s. 3d.

Contributions since Feb. 1: £458 14s. 0d. Still needed:

**£1,542**

before Feb. 1, 1959.

Anonymous contributions: Regular reader 10s., Anon., 3s. 6d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

## Quakers urge imaginative lead

**W**AR must be outlawed by international agreement; war must be conquered by international co-operation," says a statement issued on behalf of over 7,000 Quakers in the North of England.

"We appeal," the Northern Friends' Peace Board's statement continues, "to ordinary men and women everywhere to urge—in Churches, Chapels, Trade Unions and any other organisations to which they may belong—that this country shall show true greatness by giving a bold and imaginative lead."

Special postal offer

The  
P.N.  
Fund



new party stands unconpromisingly for unilateral disarmament.

Answering criticisms of splinter groups, Bob Walsh recalled that the Labour Party started as one. The odds against the Labour Party in 1900 "were greater than those against the Fellowship Party in 1958."

The new General Secretary, Derek Walker, stressed the importance of contesting the first suitable by-election on the issue of unilateral disarmament. A member promptly promised to donate half the election deposit.

Derek Walker is now on the editorial staff of the British Weekly. He is a former London School of Economics student.

He draws encouragement from the fact that in recent Local Government Elections the Fellowship Party candidate at Peterborough trebled his votes on the previous election (he obtained 181 out of the votes cast) and at Lancaster the 171 votes cast for the party's candidate represented 10 per cent of the total.

### Campaign for nuclear disarmament with this literature

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that a greater number of people can meet the crew personally."

When the crew of the Golden Rule were found guilty of contempt of court, Judge Wiig commented: "We operate under rules of law, not of men."

In presenting the Government's case at the hearing, Louis B. Blissard, US Attorney, had referred to the crew members as "four misguided people who insisted on taking the law into their own hands and now stand before the world as deliberate defiers of law and order."

### Compelled by conscience

The four men were then allowed to make statements to the court.

Albert Bigelow, captain of the Golden Rule, was cut short in his explanation of his motives. "I'm not interested in a lecture," Judge Wiig told him. "You've answered fully enough." Said Bigelow:

"They (the Executive branch of my Government) wish to avoid the embarrassing truth of our protest. For our protest says that nuclear explosions—by any nation—are inhuman, immoral, contemptuous crimes against all mankind. They can be justified only by saying, with the Communists, that the end justifies the means.

"Clearly the Atomic Energy Commission is afraid; afraid not of our physical protest, which is obviously insignificant, but of our moral protest."

William Huntingdon stated: "When we sailed from California in March to make a simple witness for humanity in the remote reaches of the open ocean where our Government is pursuing its policy of experimentation with death, there was no law preventing our sailing there.

"Our Government in contradiction of its traditions of supporting freedom of the seas, has since brought forth ad hoc laws to stop and silence us: the arbitrary regulation issued by the Atomic Energy Commission while we were at sea; the extraordinary restraints issued by this court after we arrived in the port of Honolulu."

George Willoughby: "In refusing consent to an immoral law, I am acting in the great tradition of such men as Jesus, William Penn, Henry Thoreau and Gandhi. I know that others will walk this road with me."

Orion Sherwood: "I am one of the growing body of citizens who feel compelled by conscience to speak and act in an effort to end this crime. In the words of Gandhi, 'Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good.' To remain

meanwhile, Honolulu Quaker Christopher Nicholson comments: "We feel as though history were being made in Honolulu, and we are all grateful that we have had this opportunity to meet the crew and re-evaluate our pacifist principles."

The appeal of the crew was to be heard in San Francisco on May 21.

## Non-violence in a prison without locks

"WHAT is now taking place at Leyhill may well be an encouragement to those who believe in the effectiveness of the method of non-violence," writes Stuart Morris, after a visit to the open prison to which men found guilty of murder and other forms of violence are committed.

His article "Non-violence at work" appears in the current issue of "Non-violence" (from Peace Pledge Union, 6, Endsleigh Street, 8d. post free).

"It was the different attitude of the warders which I found most striking," Stuart Morris writes. "Because there are no locks, there are no keys. The whole atmosphere of the older prisons was symbolised by the rattle of keys in locks. . . Somehow or other, with the disappearance of the keys something of the inhuman relationship between warders and those whom they guard seems to have gone too. The warders, who are not hand-picked or specially trained, become as affected by the new conditions as do the prisoners themselves.

"We are apt to think of non-violence chiefly in connection with resistance to an aggressor. Here is an interesting illustration of how what is fundamentally the method of non-violence really does change the whole atmosphere of a place and the relationships of man to man within a particular community.

Stuart Morris had been invited to Leyhill to give a talk on pacifism

## Professor fasts for nuclear disarmament

PROFESSOR BHAUSALI, an associate of Mahatma Gandhi, is continuing a 66-day fast for nuclear disarmament he began on April 1.

He is staying at the Matre Seva Sangh, Sitabuldi, Nagpore, India. For ten years he has been engaged in village uplift work on the Gandhian pattern.

Quakers urge imaginative lead  
"WAR must be outlawed by international agreement; want must be conquered by international co-operation," says a statement issued on behalf of over 7,000 Quakers in the North of England.

"We appeal," the Northern Friends' Peace Board's statement continues, "to ordinary men and women everywhere to urge—in Churches, Chapels, Trade Unions and any other organisations to which they may belong—that this country shall show true greatness by giving a bold and imaginative lead."

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## Dictatorship in France?

FOLLOWING the uprising in Corsica on the Algerian model and the setting up of a Committee of Public Safety in Ajaccio in sympathy with the regime of the generals and the settlers in Algiers, events in France are likely to move with increased momentum.

At the time of writing the prospects for the continuance of the Pflimlin Government do not seem very great, it looks as if General de Gaulle may shortly be brought in. Indeed it is said that, irrespective of the wishes of M. Pflimlin's Government, the President, M. Coty, is already inclined to call upon General de Gaulle.

This, if it should unfortunately take place, will be no means mark the end of the instability that has characterised the French governmental regime since the war. On the contrary it will make the possible fluctuations more serious, for a de Gaulle Government, particularly a de Gaulle Government set up following his endorsement of the revolt of the generals, will make almost inevitable a "popular front" between the Socialists and Communists, and possibly some of the MRP as a means of displacing him. That he will be displaced seems to us to be very evident, although it is possible that this will not be achieved before there has been bloodshed.

Up to the present the Communists have been kept out of government and of any such political combination—and even from any direct influence on policy—by a tacit but precarious understanding among all the other parties. Indeed, it has been this factor that has largely contributed to the instability of the regime. If this comes to an end we shall be at the beginning of a completely new phase of French politics, and it is difficult to know how it will work out. In any case, whether de Gaulle is able to hold power or is displaced by a popular front, France is likely to become a very uncomfortable neighbour for Britain.

## De Gaulle

THE best thing that can be said about de Gaulle is that a number of outspoken opinions regarding the French settlers in Algeria and liberal views as to an Algerian settlement have been attributed to him. For that matter comparable views have also been attributed to General Massu (of the tortures). In this connection it is significant that Mr. Raymond Aron, who has ad-



It is very tempting for those who have failed to subordinate their own interests to social needs, or who find the intelligent understanding of political issues demanded by democracy too much of a burden, to transfer all their problems to a national hero. Impressed as they may be by de Gaulle's oracular pronouncements, they are likely to find his actual political measures a good deal less impressive.

## A "Popular Front"?

AND that is where the popular front may possibly come in! That presents its own enigmas, and may present its own surprises. It has always seemed something of a con-

tradition that the French, with their peculiar mobility and versatility of mind in the political field, should among the Western nations have produced the greatest number of supporters of the Communist Party, with the rigid controls over political thought that marks this Party.

The explanation may be that the degree of class loyalty that expresses itself by an unthinking adherence to whatever the British Labour Party decides has equally expressed itself in France by an unthinking adherence to Communism, and that the five million votes that are given to Communist candidates at elections have little relationship to the actual views of the French Communist Party, the leadership of which matches the British Communist Party by its obsequious acceptance of the Moscow line at any given time.

Should our analysis prove to be a true assessment of the situation, as we must hope, the development of a popular front may possibly not result in the destruction of those who have been constrained to enter into co-operation with Communists, as in Eastern Europe, but may have quite unexpected consequences for the working-class movements of the West.

## Forward with Britain's H-bomb!

IS embarrassing pressure on the Labour leadership the best way to promote peace and assure the return of a Labour Government? asks Forward in its last week's issue, addressing the question to the "Victory for Socialism" supporters, a Labour Party group which is sympathetic to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Those who are supporting this Campaign because they hold that the question of the retention or renunciation of nuclear weapons is the supreme issue dominating politics today will do well to attend to what Forward has to say. It provides a useful sample of the pressures that will be brought more intensively to bear in order to destroy or to deflect the campaign as a general election draws near.

It will be observed that the writer of this article, without the slightest justification, equates the promotion of peace with the return of a Labour Government. With just as much, or just as little, justification the Party organ of the Conservatives can equate the return of Mr. Macmillan to power with the promotion of peace.

The article was based on the Mass Lobby, reported in Peace News last week. There is a terrifying difference between the Labour Party and the Tory Party approach to the H-bomb, says the writer; so much so that

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## "BRITAIN AND THE BOMB"

THE most considerable publication yet issued by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is the new 6d. pamphlet "Britain and the Bomb" by Mr. Benn W. Levy.

We hope it will have a wide circulation because:

● Mr. Levy's careful examination of the position of Britain resulting from her possession of H-bombs and granting of sites for US bases will throw new light on the situation for many people.

● The thoughtful reader, seeing where there are weaknesses in Mr. Levy's case, will thereby have taken an important step towards seriously considering the pacifist view.

Mr. Levy resorts to one of the more amiable devices now current to disavow pacifism, while setting the pacifist case aside without discussing it.

He has been greatly tempted by pacifist doctrine, he says, "but having twice funk'd it and plunged into killing during two world wars, I can lay no claim to the straight and narrow moral line."

The pacifist does not claim more courage than the soldier, though he has sometimes had to assert that the possession of a degree of courage is not incompatible with pacifism.

The pacifist does claim that he has a different view of the way in which certain problems confronting mankind should be faced. He holds that his view is better and more desirable than that of the militarist.

The pacifist may be right or wrong on this, but he would prefer it to be discussed on the basis of realities and its merits, rather than set aside without examination—whether as Mr. Levy has done, or after a tribute of "respect" and "understanding" from Mr. Macmillan.



ONE of Mr. Levy's reasons for advocating unilateral renunciation by Britain of the H-bomb is that nuclear warfare is so different from all preceding warfare that it is different in kind.

We believe this is true.

Mr. Levy's earlier statement seems to indicate that he believes that pacif-



completely new phase of French politics, and it is difficult to know how it will work out. In any case, whether de Gaulle is able to hold power or is displaced by a popular front, France is likely to become a very uncomfortable neighbour for Britain.

## De Gaulle

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Gaulle is that a number of outspoken opinions regarding the French settlers in Algeria and liberal views as to an Algerian settlement have been attributed to him. For that matter comparable views have also been attributed to General Massu (of the tortures). In this connection it is significant that M. Raymond Aron, who has advanced the most challenging proposals for an Algerian settlement, which included plans for buying out the settlers, has spoken in approval of de Gaulle. If de Gaulle were a different kind of man—if, that is, he did not appear to be a victim of megalomania—it might have been a good idea for the Pflimlin Government to ask him to go to Algeria in succession to M. Lacoste. His prestige with the army, in combination with the new policy declarations that have been made in Algeria in contriving the “love-feast” spirit between the settlers and the Muslims of Algiers, might have made possible a rapid settlement in Algeria, even if people like M. Alain de Serigny were to have second thoughts when confronted with the full implications of that “love-feast.”

There would have been no possibility of de Gaulle undertaking a task of this order, however. We do not know much about his policy, and even less about his political capacity, but he has made it very evident that there is only one capacity in which he sees himself serving his country—and that is as its head.

Independently of the undesirability of the French Republic declining into a dictatorship—the constitutional reforms proposed by M. Pflimlin himself take it a good way along that road, incidentally—it is more than probable that handing over the Government to de Gaulle would prove a catastrophe. He has a gift for portentous and oracular pronouncements that carefully conceal the nature of his political ideas. It is very possible that they also conceal the poverty of those ideas. He is the country's saviour, and, as the Observer remarks, “When he identifies himself with France and says that ‘No one shouts de Gaulle who is not on the side of the nation’ he is talking the kind of mystical nonsense that dictators have always talked.” His predecessor Louis Napoleon, for instance, or Hitler or Mussolini

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We believe this is true.

Mr. Levy's earlier statement seems to indicate that he believes that pacifism has some relationship to this new and tremendous fact.

We believe this is also true.

His quickly forgetting this relationship may explain the lack of compelling conviction many readers will find in his pamphlet.

As “a calculated chivalry” he also refrains from depending on moral arguments against nuclear weapons, although he says that “morally the case must surely be overwhelming against a weapon that can destroy mankind.”

We believe Mr. Levy's having “funked” the pacifist doctrine is irrelevant; we also believe that excluding the moral argument on grounds of “chivalry” is a mistake.

It is perfectly true, as Mr. Levy remarks, that “it is an age-long habit of politicians . . . to concede the moral case and then write it off as ‘unrealistic.’”

Their doing this, however, does not change the nature of reality. The very existence of society depends on the acceptance of certain moral conceptions, and to ignore this fact is to be the contrary of realistic.



**T**HE case against depending on the H-bomb is overwhelmingly a moral case. The case is, simply: there can be no moral justification for relying for the defence of anything (even the values we hold most dear) upon a threat to the future existence of humanity.

What is under-estimated is the present-day need for a clear statement to the people of the overwhelming moral necessity to abandon reliance on the H-bomb.

**THERE IS MORE DECENCY IN PEOPLE THAN THE POLITICIANS GIVE THEM CREDIT FOR.**

People consistently faced with the great moral choice now before mankind will quite conceivably respond to the appeal that will permit humanity to have a future.

If addressed on the assumption that the best they are capable of is admiration for an astute and calculating self-interest, they may come to believe that the most meritorious quality to be looked for in man is that he should be astute and calculating.

Without being too clear about it, Mr. Levy seems to convey the idea that after renouncing nuclear weapons and rejecting US missile bases, Britain should still stand side by side with an H-bomb-equipped US and seek to find a new place in NATO with more limited functions for Britain.

● We do not believe this outcome is either possible or desirable.

Mr. Levy has some pertinent comments to make on Mr. Duncan Sandys' policy as expounded in the Defence White Paper.

We believe, however, that Mr. Sandys expressed one great truth by inadvertence, although it is far from the intention of his Party to act upon it.

● The alternative today is between total war and total peace.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, if it is to be realistic, will lead to a policy of total peace.

sample of the pressures that will be brought more intensively to bear in order to destroy or to deflect the campaign as a general election draws near.

It will be observed that the writer of this article, without the slightest justification, equates the promotion of peace with the return of a Labour Government. With just as much, or just as little, justification the Party organ of the Conservatives can equate the return of Mr. Macmillan to power with the promotion of peace.

The article was based on the Mass Lobby, reported in Peace News last week. There is a terrifying difference between the Labour Party and the Tory Party approach to the H-bomb, says the writer; so much so that it should make the lobbyists ask: “Was our lobby really necessary?” Where is this terrifying difference? Simply in the fact that the Conservative Party, in its agreement with the Labour Party that H-bombs should be manufactured and stocked by Britain, adds the intention to pursue their testing without a break. The Labour Party, on the other hand, would temporarily suspend the tests, although not the manufacture and stock-piling. It would resume them or not after there had been “Summit” talks according to the outcome of those talks. It is not the trifling area of disagreement here that is terrifying; it is the immensely more important extent of the common outlook.

## “Confusion”

**T**HE writer of the article makes the best use he can of Mr. Strachey's tricky piece of disingenuousness that the Labour Party policy is to scrap all the H-bombs—as if this isn't Conservative Party policy also, and what everybody would like, whatever they may be preparing to do. He also adds his own piece of trickiness by writing as if the Labour Party had endorsed an unconditional stopping of the British tests, whereas he must be aware that what the Labour Party has declared for is a conditional suspension of the tests—a politically meaningless declaration, because it will be out of date before there can be a Labour Government.

He says: “To press the issue of unilateral renunciation of Britain's bomb at present is to cause confusion and disunity at the very moment when unity might have fateful results for peace,” “Fateful results,” Forward really means, for a Labour election success; but those who participated in the Lobby—or so we hope—have no more use for a Labour Government engaged in the manufacture of H-bombs than they have for a Conservative Government following the same policy.



## Rabble rousing

A BRIEF analysis of the "Anti-Compass" letters last week might serve towards curing the intellectual sickness from which the peace movement has been suffering for years.

"I am afraid . . . I was really quite shocked" (Alan Litherland) and "I feel impelled to write . . . I object to the rabble-rousing" (H. P. Buglass) have one characteristic in common, their lamentable subjectivity; and both make use of the word "hysterical" in the form into which, in company with "emotional," it was recently distorted by the professional propagandists of nuclear war.

At precisely what end satisfying support of pacifism will make confusion worse confounded, Litherland does not explain, and Buglass does not seem to realise that appealing to anger and fear is not dishonesty.

Perhaps his objection to rabble-rousing is really due to fear of roping in people who might shatter or even invert his sense of moral superiority by measuring in terms of results.—R. V. STURGEON, 201 Station Road, Harrow, Middlesex.

## General strike

WHAT an improvement your back page lay-out is this week (May 16). Worthy of the front page in fact! And how grateful we should be to "Compass" for his vigorous article and reminder that the time is indeed running short.

Even for those of us who are closely connected with the nuclear disarmament campaign or with more specifically pacifist activities it needs a tremendous effort of the imagination to comprehend this fully—to realise, in fact, that though we are all here today we could all be gone tomorrow.

The desirability of staging a general strike, if only a token one, should not be ruled out in certain circumstances, particularly if the white-collared and professional workers could be induced to participate.

But under any circumstances, and the sooner the better, we should like to see the workers at Aldermaston and at the bomber bases decide to withdraw their labour entirely from these projects. If and when they do, either individually or *en masse*, they ought to have the support of those of us who manage to earn our living in less equivocal jobs.

Particularly at Aldermaston, for example, which employs such a large proportion of the surrounding population, would this be the only right and proper thing to do until some alternative project could absorb the workers. Is it not time, now, to start some

# LETTERS

Can no pacifist MP convince Aneurin Bevan that it is sometimes necessary to forego loyalty to a confederate in order to maintain loyalty to a nation?

I write as a disenfranchised voter who put Labour on the small map of South Bucks—in 1930.—D. A. JAMESON, Little Marlow, Bucks.

## Offer from Yugoslavia

WE have received a request from Yugoslavia from a woman who would like to place her 18-year-old son in a British family and offers to accept a youth into her own home in exchange. Apparently her home is in a particularly beautiful setting on the sea-front.

Will those interested write to me.—ARLO TATUM, Secretary, War Resisters' International, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.

## Hungarian pacifist

IT is with deep grief that we inform suffragist, feminist and pacifist friends of the death in Budapest, Hungary, at the age of 91 of Mrs. Irma Szirmai as the result of a street-car accident. She was the last of the remarkable leaders of the Hungarian Feminist Association, founded in 1904 by Rosika Schwimmer and Vilma Glucklich as the Hungarian Branch of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance. After 1915 the

Feminist Association also served as the Hungarian Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

As the Feminist Association was not only suffragist but also feminist and pacifist, and united both men and women in its membership, it was unique in both international women's societies. Mrs. Szirmai was especially active in the Association's social work, particularly the protection of mothers and children. Shortly before the war, the Association dissolved voluntarily rather than abide by Hungary's anti-semitic regulations.

During the terrible Nazi reign of terror in Budapest in 1944-45, when Jews were herded into ghettos, forced to wear a yellow star and subject in all their movements to impossible curfew regulations, Mrs. Szirmai boldly ventured out into the streets to carry messages and to attend to the needs of those in peril.

When people asked whether she was not afraid of being caught and killed, she replied she was an old woman and could only die once, but that as long as she lived she had to do all in her power to help the younger ones to keep alive.

At the end of the war, Mrs. Szirmai revived the Feminist Association and various international contacts and bravely con-

May 30, 1958—PEACE NEWS—5

tinued in the radical spirit of its honoured traditions. Amid the terrible devastation and poverty, she became the centre also for the distribution of relief which friends and associates sent from abroad.

She continued these activities tirelessly to the day of her death, despite the fact that in 1949 the Rakosi regime had ordered the Feminist Association dissolved. But as long as Irma Szirmai lived the noble activities of half a century of service to peace and human progress could not be wholly suppressed.

During the recent Hungarian revolt, which began almost under her windows, she, her children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren survived the siege in the cellars of the house. Remarkably enough, feminist and pacifist publications kept coming to her from abroad during those chaotic days, especially Peace News from London, with various proposals for a peaceful solution of the Hungarian tragedy. To the last she hoped that reconciliation and a peaceful solution would be worked out.

Only with her passing can it be said that now indeed the Hungarian Feminist Association no longer exists except as the history of a great movement of liberation with superbly courageous leadership from beginning to end.—FRANCISKA SCHWIMMER, EDITH WYNNER, 54 Riverside Drive, New York 24, NY.

# Mediterranean challenge to democracy

THE Mediterranean, which was the cradle of European civilisation and democracy, has now become a challenge to the reality of that civilisation and democracy. Algeria, Cyprus, Lebanon provide the test.

On the map the Mediterranean reminds me of a Legislative Chamber: Europe, on the Government side, facing the Opposition, North Africa, with West Asia (partly with Africa, partly with Europe) on the Cross Benches. That has been the picture this week.

Algeria is certainly challenging both French civilisation and democracy. The imperial basis of her civilisation is being challenged by Algeria's Arabs. Her democracy is being challenged by Algeria's European settlers.

The French Prime Minister got his im-

By Fenner Brockway, M.P.  
Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

able to the masses who exist in another social and racial world.

The suggestion of integration with France will definitely not be acceptable to the masses of the Arab population outside the French cities along the coast. There are 8,000,000 Arabs, 1,000,000 French. The policy of union with France has been rejected in Viet-Nam, Tunisia and Morocco. African opinion is becoming estranged from it in French West and Equatorial Africa, in French Togoland and the French Cameroons.

The fundamental claim of the Arabs in Algeria is for independence, not integration. There can be no solution on these lines.

One of the strange features of the Paris-

of their problems in North Africa, and Africa generally.

We turn to Cyprus. It is now evident that the British Government is proposing that both union with Greece and partition should be set aside, and that for a long period—15 years is mentioned—Cyprus should remain a British colony, with considerable self-government but with foreign relations and the military use of the island remaining in British hands. The suggestion of self-determination would be indefinitely postponed.

## Cyprus and the Lebanon

There is a case for a period of self-government whilst the clash between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority quietsens down. There was no conflict four years ago and there is the hope that under self-government co-operation could be renewed. But there are two features of this solution which are disturbing.



white-collared and professional workers could be induced to participate.

But under any circumstances, and the sooner the better, we should like to see the workers at Aldermaston and at the bomber bases decide to withdraw their labour entirely from these projects. If and when they do, either individually or *en masse*, they ought to have the support of those of us who manage to earn our living in less equivocal jobs.

Particularly at Aldermaston, for example, which employs such a large proportion of the surrounding population, would this be the only right and proper thing to do until some alternative project could absorb the workers. Is it not time, now, to start some fund for this purpose and/or to work out some other practical plan to help?—**DOROTHY NADIN, 13 Muswell Hill Rd., London, N.10.**

### Bus for marchers

**I** AM arranging for a bus to take nuclear protest marchers from Bangor to London for the June 22 March, returning as soon as possible after the march on the Sunday. Anyone living in the Bangor district who is interested should contact me. The return fare is 35s.—**GRAHAM CAREY, c/o 52 Penrhos Rd., Bangor, Caerns.**

### Bevan and the Bomb

**I**T would seem that the attitude of Aneurin Bevan to the Hydrogen bomb is not so much a fear of Russian "laughter" (!) (Emrhys Hughes, PN, May 2) as a dislike for exposing the betrayal of Great Britain by a Labour Prime Minister in 1945.

### Down with de Gaulle

**Hands off the French  
Labour Movement**

**Freedom for Algeria**

**MASS PROTEST  
MEETING**

**and march to French Embassy**

**SUNDAY, JUNE 1**

**Hyde Park, 6 p.m.**

Speakers:

**PETER FRYER  
BRIAN BEHAN**

**Called by The Newsletter**

Lebanon provide the test.

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Algeria is certainly challenging both French civilisation and democracy. The imperial basis of her civilisation is being challenged by Algeria's Arabs. Her democracy is being challenged by Algeria's European settlers.

The French Prime Minister got his impressive majority in the Chamber of Deputies, but it is doubtful if he is winning his struggle with General de Gaulle. He has surrendered to the Generals and settlers in Algeria. He has made General Salan dictator in Algeria, General Salan, who cries "Vive de Gaulle" and shares platforms with General Massu and M. Soustelle who are now seeking to extend their insurrectionary Committees of Public Safety to France itself.

The situation is crowded with contradictions. One of the most perplexing is the fraternisation of the Muslims and French populations in cities like Algiers and Oran. A fortnight ago they lived in fear of each other.

### The Arab claim

The bond of unity is hatred of the Government in Paris. It was the defiance of Paris which stirred the Muslims in the first instance. This demonstration of unity has led to further proposals.

So far in Algiers the French settlers and Arabs have been segregated politically as well as socially. They have voted through two separate Electoral Colleges, and political power has rested with the French minority.

Now the proposal is being made that there should be only one Electoral College and that Muslims with certain educational (and, no doubt, income) qualifications shall be regarded as full French citizens. On this basis it is proposed that Algeria should be integrated with France.

The proposal has come from the Generals. It is not popular with many of the settlers. On the Arab side it may be acceptable to a small educated and comfortably off élite; but when the anti-Paris emotion has given way to reflection it is not likely to be accept-

ed. The suggestion of integration with France will definitely not be acceptable to the masses of the Arab population outside the French cities along the coast. There are 8,000,000 Arabs, 1,000,000 French. The policy of union with France has been rejected in Viet-Nam, Tunisia and Morocco. African opinion is becoming estranged from it in French West and Equatorial Africa, in French Togoland and the French Cameroons.

**The fundamental claim of the Arabs in Algeria is for independence, not integration. There can be no solution on these lines.**

One of the strange features of the Paris-Algiers crisis has been the absence of all reference to the National Liberation Front and its forces. They are the determining factor. They are strong in the support they know they have from the masses of the Arab population, and from the recent endorsement given by the Government Parties in Tunisia and Morocco. They are watching what is happening, not with sympathy towards either side in the French quarrel, but with satisfaction that their opponents should be divided.

### The one hope

There is the danger that the conflict will spread to Tunisia and Morocco. Already there has been a clash of arms in Tunisia and M. Bourguiba is now demanding the total evacuation of their French forces.

**If this happens the issue becomes international and will pass to the United Nations. There, France would find itself in practical isolation. American and British pressure would certainly be exerted against de Gaulle because of their fear that under his influence France would break with the Western Alliance including NATO.**

In the background is the possibility that de Gaulle would revert to his earlier proposal that the problem of France and North Africa should be solved by a Federation of independent African States and France. This is the pattern which is developing in French West and Equatorial Africa. It is the one hope of continued French association with her African overseas territories in the long run. But de Gaulle's difficulty is that the settlers in Algeria, their military allies and the reactionaries upon whom he depends in France itself would reject this solution.

The one hope lies in the democratic elements in France which have united against de Gaulle's bid for dictatorship moving towards unity also in this rational solution

period—15 years is mentioned—Cyprus should remain a British colony, with considerable self-government but with foreign relations and the military use of the island remaining in British hands. The suggestion of self-determination would be indefinitely postponed.

### Cyprus and the Lebanon

There is a case for a period of self-government whilst the clash between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority quieters down. There was no conflict four years ago and there is the hope that under self-government co-operation could be renewed. But there are two features of this solution which are disturbing.

**The first is that it is to be imposed by the British Government instead of a settlement being negotiated with the representatives of the Cypriot people. The second is that no promised date for self-determination is indicated.**

The Labour Party promise that an endeavour will be made to apply self-determination during the next period of Labour Government has the authority of the Annual Conference of the Party only nine months ago and more recently of its Executive. Less than a fortnight ago at the Trafalgar Square demonstration organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom, Mr. Tom Driberg, the Chairman of the Party, reaffirmed it in a message.

The one qualifying word is "endeavour." Two circumstances might arise which would make the realisation of this hope difficult. The first would be world war. The second would be continued conflict between the Greek and Turkish peoples in Cyprus. The greatest need in Cyprus is to encourage the unity of the Greek and Turkish populations, which has recently found some expression in united Labour demonstrations.

The conflict in Lebanon is between those who cling to the Western Alliance and the Bagdad Pact and those who are responding to the sweeping emotion of Arab unity reflected in the Union of Egypt and Syria. Britain will find itself on the reactionary side if it withstands Arab unity. At present this Arab movement is based on neutrality between the American and Russian grouping of Powers. If the West allies itself with the reactionary forces in the Middle East it will lose the sympathy of the peoples.

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# BEHIND THE COUP IN ALGERIA

The seizure of power in Algeria by the Army and the European settlers raises the question: Why the desperation of these men? Some observers believe the answer lies in the basic nature of colonialism. Hein van Wijk, prominent Dutch pacifist and attorney, in the following article (translated by Hilda von Klenze) turns a penetrating spotlight on the European settlers in Algeria.

**T**HERE are many reasons why the French repression continues in Algeria.

Over 1,000,000 Europeans live in Algeria. They have their roots there. They regard the presence of the French as a proof of their everlasting superiority over the Algerians.

**They do not wish to return to France, for in France they will not get anything for nothing.**

In the colonies the superiority, the higher income, the public office, the title, their share in lower taxation and countless privileges and advantages are taken for granted by virtue of having been born a member of the ruling class. That state of affairs must, they feel, be preserved.

## RULING CLASS

A small minority of Europeans has enormous power, enormous riches and enormous influence. Economically and politically it dominates the life of the country. It rules the Press and the Government.

These millionaires determine the broad outlines of all policies, and that means they are responsible for the status quo. The harm done by the policy of violence never touches them. They are always safe.

The majority of the Europeans in Algeria call themselves French, but about 800,000 of 1,200,000 of them are not. It is these who are the most fanatical of them all. This applies in particular to the Italians who claim to be Corsicans, and the Spaniards who pretend to be Basques. There is no way back for them.

Here, although not rich, they are part of the ruling class. By origin they are uprooted people who in their turn have taken to oppression and, as soon as possible, vented their spleen on a downtrodden race.

This white population (the majority of

**By Hein van Wijk**

whom look typical Mediterraneans and are short and dusky, with dark hair and dark eyes, the result of countless intermarriages with Arabs, Berbers, Moors, and therefore not white at all), in so far as they ever think at all, like the colonial relationship.

## NEVER A HUMAN BEING

To them an Arab is at best a native, but generally a *bougnoul*, *flic*, *bicot*, *krouya*, etc. These names in themselves indicate something sub-human. Those who use these words, as "nigger" is used in America, feel themselves members of the ruling race.

They will never really try to get into a personal relationship with these *bougnouls* and *flics*. The mere thought is abhorrent to them, especially to the race-conscious poor whites.

**They know them only as part of a group, a group which is by nature inferior. This inferiority accords very well with colonial relations.**

The cheapest, most convenient, simplest, most natural and, for them, most pleasant explanation of the status quo is to base it on the theory that there are superior and inferior races. Thereby the domination of the ruling people is automatically justified.

While the colonial relationship lasts, an Arab, an Indonesian, an Indian, a Negro is never a human being, never an individual, but only a part of "they."

These "they" are always and for all

**Basil Delaine's  
Central African Commentary  
WHY TODD DOESN'T  
STAND A CHANCE**

**GARFIELD TODD** is acknowledged by practically every European in Southern Rhodesia as being the most efficient and sincere politician the Colony has ever had.

Yet his revived United Rhodesia Party does not stand a chance in the coming general election. Why?

- Because Todd stands for progressive African advancement.
- Because the majority of white settlers in the Colony (and throughout the Federation as a whole) are interested in their own welfare and progress

times inferior. That is what is said and thought and felt by the Europeans who behave as if there never could be any change.

It is only in keeping with this attitude that the white ruler does not know the language of the colonial people. It does not concern him. The creatures who make these "noises" are not human beings in the strict sense of the word.

Moreover, it is impossible and unthinkable to create "nice" colonial relationships. They do not exist.

If such a state of affairs becomes "nice" all citizens have equal rights.

The privileged classes would have to make do with a tenth, or a hundredth of their former income; they may lose their fortune altogether and be integrated into the community which they have always believed to consist of creatures between man and beast.

**No one does that voluntarily; they would rather emigrate.**

Since such a thing as a "nice" colonial relationship does not exist, the ideal solution, namely, free co-operation regardless of race, colour or creed, is practically impossible.

## IN PURSUIT OF GAIN

Although the oppressed say now that the French, the British, the Dutch or whatever you will be welcome to stay so long as they will conform to the new freedom and equality, the settlers will not stay because they cannot tolerate being made ordinary citizens, and those French, British and Dutch people who would be welcome under freedom seldom go to the colonies since they have other ambitions than to enrich themselves at the expense of slaves.

This state of affairs causes the differences to be so great as to be practically incapable of being smoothed out.

Those who go to the colonies become fanatical reactionaries and therefore at present fascists in heart and mind in their attitude towards their own domination.

They believe themselves as individuals and as a group to be standing with their backs to the wall.

They have come to the colonies as pariahs, as failures, as professional soldiers in pursuit of gain. They dread the return into ordinary society.

**Every honest attempt at reform is an**



**An Algerian refugee mother and child in Morocco.**

**attack on their position. Every attempt at reform, however small, inevitably involves some measure of equality for the colonial people and, therefore, means one step in the direction of the end of the existing domination.**

And behind that end looms the lapse of the ruling class into what it was before: worthless, shorn of the glitter of government and the blessing of superiority.

Hence their fury against anyone who recognises the human being in the "native" and strives for even the most moderate and most gradual reforms. Hence such people are as far as possible eliminated and their work sabotaged.

## The terrible decision

**From CONSTANCE WILLIS**

**"THE** opportunity has now come for a renewal of effort and vigorous Christian pacifist witness, and the occasion has been provided for us by the limitless horror of the new weapons of destruction," declared the Rev. Dr. Pennar Davies recently.

The Rev. Principal W. T. Pennar Daves

**GO ON PROTESTING**



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## STAND A CHANCE

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- Because Todd stands for progressive African advancement.
- Because the majority of white settlers in the Colony (and throughout the Federation as a whole) are interested in their own welfare and progress only.
- Because those same white settlers are too short-sighted to realise that the only way to ensure their own welfare and progress is to work for, and obtain, complete racial harmony.

There are three other parties standing in the election: United Federal, Dominion, Confederate.

### Preferential vote

Of these, the **Confederates** are the most extreme white-supremacists.

They want Strijdom's apartheid and nothing less.

Their manifesto includes all the familiar punch-lines imported from South Africa:

"Votes for Europeans only," "Ban the African National Congress," "Outlaw all subversive organisations," "Teach Africans English only, and prevent the creation of a nation within a nation."

The two "middle" parties are the United Federal (governing) and the Dominion.

The **UFR** believes in racial partnership, but painfully slow African advancement. While in power it has done little to break the colour bar. This party has tended to swing right and to ignore the cries for justice from the colony's thousands of under-privileged coloured people.

The **Dominion Party** has stated that although it acknowledges that the African must advance economically, segregation is the only answer to Central Africa's problems. This party can be likened to the left-wing of South Africa's Nationalists.

The preferential vote is being introduced for the first time in the Colony's history.

It is likely that some United Federal Party voters will use the extra vote in support of the Dominion Party, while some Dominionites will give theirs to the UFP.

Polling day is June 5. The big fight will be between the UFP and the Dominion Party.

This state of affairs causes the differences to be so great as to be practically incapable of being smoothed out.

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## GO ON PROTESTING

Dr. Leslie Cook, Associate Secretary of the World Council of Churches, speaking during the May Meetings week—the annual assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales—had this to say on "The Obedience of the Christian Community" which called forth enthusiastic applause from the large audience:

*Christian people and the Christian Church, for example, must go on protesting against nuclear tests and the possibilities of nuclear war, not simply out of humanitarian considerations nor yet because of the thought of generations as yet unborn, but because the created universe belongs to Jesus as Lord, and we have no right to use what belongs to Him for purposes which do not accord with His will.*

## Support UN to end tests —says Assembly

**THE** General Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales was divided on the issue of nuclear weapons at its session on May 15.

An effort by the Rev. H. D. Oliver, Chairman of the Congregational Pacifist Fellowship to get the Assembly to state that "the majority reject all preparation for war as being contrary to God's will" was rejected.

The General Assembly finally agreed to ask the British Government to seek support in the UN for measures to end nuclear tests, to ban nuclear weapons and destroy present stocks, for international inspection and "progressive disarmament of both nuclear and conventional weapons" under UN supervision. It also called for "international co-operation in the development of atomic power for peaceful purposes."

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The Rev. Principal W. T. Pennar Davies was addressing an open meeting of the Congregational Pacifist Fellowship on "Christian Witness for Peace" at Livingstone House, London. The meeting was held in connection with May Meetings Week, the assembly of the entire Congregational Union of England and Wales.

"We have to associate ourselves with those who seem to have very little understanding of what we regard as the Christian faith and Gospel."

Referring to Earl Russell's "active part in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament," the Principal of Brecon Theological College continued: "He presented a case based upon common sense and common humanity, and seemed to think there was enough of that about to appeal to.

But common sense is very uncommon and so is common humanity. It is in very small quantity in our human hearts; we need a gospel of salvation. We have to restate the Gospel in terms that are understandable to our contemporaries.

"It does not require a fanatic to see that humanity is rapidly approaching a terrible decision. . . . That is not fanaticism, it is simply political realism.

"These terrible weapons are being made, and if Christian witness does not prevent it, they will be used . . . A choice has to be made. We must press that home to our people, and show that their individual choice is significant. We must present them with the will of God for our age, so that they will abandon completely and gladly all these terrible weapons—old-fashioned and conventional, as well as new-fashioned—for ever."

Reviewing the history of pacifism in modern times, Dr. Pennar Davies said of World War II: "Those who sought war were able to exploit the hideousness, the demented inhumanity of Hitlerism and, of course, they did not attempt to consider the causes of it, that Hitler was the bitter fruit of our trust in the things that destroy."



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# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

## Friday, May 30

**BANGOR:** 7.30 p.m. Public Library. Public Meeting on Atomic Energy in Peace and War. Speaker: Dr. Glyn Phillips; Chairman: Goronwy Roberts (MP for Caernarvon). Admission Free. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

**LONDON, S.E.15:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Peckham. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Film: "Children of Hiroshima."

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 7.30 p.m.; Central Hall. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Protest Meeting: "The H-bomb and You." Rev. Michael Scott, Prof. A. J. P. Taylor; Chairman: Leslie E. Day. Admission free.

## Saturday, May 31

**LEICESTER:** One-day work camp; decorating for Family Service Unit, Sec.: J. Lynes, 101 Lonsdale Road, Thurmaston, Leicester. IVS.

**LEEDS:** 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House (behind BBC). Record on the life of Gandhi, and study of Gandhi's philosophy. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Ordnance Road, Area AGM. Southern Area PPU.

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 7 p.m. Kell Hall, London Rd. "Any Questions," on "Peace in the Nuclear Age." Panel: Sybil Morrison, Rev. Leslie E. Day, T. C. Stanley-Little, Brian Bowles. Question Master: E. Hyman, JP. PPU.

## Sunday, June 1

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3 p.m.; Lounge, Ivanhoe Hotel, Gt. Russell St. Ninth Lecture in "Non-violence and Social Change" series: "Freedom, defence and non-violent resistance." Gene Sharp, MA. Free admission; collection. The 1957 Committee.

## Monday, June 2

**BRISTOL:** 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Old Market St. Public Meeting. John Berger, A. J. P. Taylor. Bristol Council for Nuclear Disarmament.

## Tuesday June 3

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7.45 p.m. 3 Wentworth Rd., Olton, 26, Group Meeting; Sheldon PPU.

**LONDON, S.W.15:** 8 p.m. Elliot School, Pullman Gardens, Westleigh Ave. (off Putney Hill). Public Meeting, Alex Comfort, Dr. Peter Astbury, Rosamund John, Frank Beswick, MP, Putney CND.

## Wednesday, June 4

**HASTINGS:** 7 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards. Monthly Group Meeting. Speaker: Hilda von Klenze—"Non-Violence." PPU.

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House (Priory Room), Bull St., AGM. "Nuclear Disarmament and Positive Peacemaking." Eric Baker. Birmingham Peace Council.

**LONDON, N.4:** 7.30 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook). Discussion meeting. Young War Resisters' Group.

## Thursday, June 5

**LONDON, E:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Meeting House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone (near Green Man). Meeting of E.10 and E.11 PPU Group. Speaker: Arthur Hadley.

**ESHER:** 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Claremont La. (near High Street). Public Meeting; Niger Calder, CND.

**TUNBRIDGE WELLS:** 7.30 p.m. The Pump Room. Mass Meeting "We Say No to the H-bomb." Canon L. J. Collins, Dr. Astbury, Mervyn Jones. Chair: The Mayor, CND.

## Friday, June 6

**LONDON, E.C.1:** 8 p.m.; Priory Church of St. Bartholomew-the-Great, West Smithfield (St. Paul's Und. Stn.). A Programme of Music by the London International Choir. Conductor: Paul Steinltz; Soloists: Frank Merrick—pianoforte and Frederick Woodhouse—singer. Programmes (3s.) from George Sabapathy, 14/15 Kendal St., W.2., or at the Church on June 6.

# The clear choice

HAROLD BING M.A. reviews

**Cabinet Government and War**, by John Ehrman. Cambridge University Press, 16s.

THIS is a book which will interest both the student of military affairs (from the administrative angle) and the student of cabinet government. It is concerned with the development of British Governments' organisation for war over a period of some fifty years, from around 1890 to 1940.

British parliamentary democracy had evolved during the nineteenth century a system of cabinet government adapted to conditions of peace, in which wars, though numerous, were for the most part small and distant, mainly colonial expeditions, the conduct of which could be left largely to the Service departments once the political decision, as to whether or not to resort to force, had been made at Cabinet level. Though this often involved a good deal of muddle, as in the Crimean War, the impact upon the life of the country at large was not considerable.

The wars of the twentieth century, on a scale and of a type never before experienced and bearing far-reaching results for society, necessitated a radical reorganisation at government level to which the British system adapted itself with very great difficulty.

Under war conditions the Service chiefs demanded supreme control in deciding questions of strategy and military policy; demands which the political leaders were unwilling to concede.



The unhappy story of the strained relations and even violent quarrels between Lloyd George and his Service chiefs in World War I is ample evidence of this, and the whole four years of the conflict witnessed a series of experiments in establishing various joint committees and other machinery to try to harmonise the political and military controls.

Only towards the very end of that struggle was something like a workable system achieved, but, according to Mr. Ehrman, it did not have sufficient time to establish itself in our constitutional procedures, and so the period just preceding and following the outbreak of World War II saw a repetition of the same sort of muddle and conflict, though, with the experience of 1914-18 to fall back upon, an adjustment was more quickly reached.

This consisted essentially in combining in one person the political and the military leadership, and in Churchill Britain found a man whose experience and almost

various committees and new departments which the exigencies of total war necessitated.



All this may seem of little concern to the pacifist, but the story unfolded does bring out the difficulties inherent in trying to pursue a peace policy and prepare for war at the same time. In Germany political policy had been subordinated to preparation for war: in other words, the Service chiefs had tended to dominate national policy. In Britain the opposite course had been pursued with the result that, when we declared war we found ourselves in many ways unfitted to wage it, and had to pass through a period of muddle and improvisation before we had an effective fighting machine.

This was not really due to lack of preparation. Our General Staff had been co-ordinating plans with the French General Staff from 1906 to 1914 and again before World War II "in November, 1934, the Committee of Imperial Defence directed those of its bodies concerned with the defence of the United Kingdom to plan on the assumption of a possible war with Germany within five years" (Ehrman, p. 113). But democracy and war are incompatible, and so those engaged in preparing for war were never given the free hand and the resources they would have wished.

If there is a moral to be drawn from this study, it seems to be that one cannot satisfactorily prepare for war and for peace simultaneously, particularly total war. In other words, we must make a clear choice: *Total war or total peace!*

## NOTEBOOK

### Demonstration in Chicago

THINGS are looking up in Chicago. Bradford Lyttle, Quaker peace worker in the city, tells me that the poster parade and leaflet distribution which they planned for April 5 was the largest demonstration they had had. They planned for 60 to 70

May 30, 1958—PEACE NEWS—7

# CLASSIFIED

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## MEETINGS

Film "Children of Hiroshima," and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament speakers. Thursday, June 5, 8 p.m., Co-operative Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road (near Finsbury Park Tube), London, N.7. Admission Free; Questions and Discussion. S.P.G.B.

## HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James. Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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## LITERATURE

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Cttee., Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

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MARRIAGE BETWEEN Brown and Brooks. May 24 at Horfield Friends Meeting House, Owen Brown to Margaret Brooks, both Bristol Central PPU Group.

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit), 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

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Blackstock Rd. (above Fish & Cook). Discussion meeting. Young War Resisters' Group.

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**LONDON, N.13:** 8 p.m.; Bowes Park Methodist Church. "The Challenge of Nuclear War to the Church." Rev D. Holt Roberts, MA (St. George's Presbyterian Church, Palmers Green). Methodist Peace Fellowship.

**LONDON, W.1:** 6.45 p.m.; King's Weigh House Church Hall, Binney St. Annual Meeting of the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Speaker: The Rev. Mark Shirley.

**SOUTHEAST-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m.; Arlington Hall, London Rd., Westcliff. Public protest meeting against nuclear weapons. Tickets 6d. Southend West Labour and Co-operative Parties Joint Action Committee. Sec.: Mr. S. Carn, 25 Crawley Rd., Westcliff-on-Sea.

**PORTSMOUTH:** 7.30 p.m. Wesley Central Hall, Fratton Road, Public Meeting "Do You Want the H-Bomb?" Mervyn Jones, Rev. Michael Scott, Prof. A. J. P. Taylor, Chair: John R. Sturges. Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

**LONDON, S.W.6:** 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Fulham Town Hall (opp. Fulham Broadway station). London Local Tribunal for COs. Public admitted.

**UPMINSTER:** 8 p.m. St. Mary's Lane School (near The Bell). Discussion on Nuclear Disarmament. Alec Beckman. Hornchurch Way to Peace Group.

Saturday, June 7

**ASHFORD, Kent:** 3.30 p.m.; Friends' House, Albert Rd. S.E. Area Meeting. Sybil Morrison. Bring and Buy Stall. Tea provided; please bring own food to pool. PPU.

**ASHFORD, Kent:** 6.30 p.m.; Friends' House, Albert Rd. Open Forum. Panel: Minnie Pallister, Sybil Morrison, Douglas Clark. Chairman: Wilfred J. Suter, MA PPU.

## Every week!

### SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** 3 p.m.; Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Pacifist Forum.

**LONDON:** Clapham Common 3 p.m. Christian Pacifist Open-Air Meeting. The Brotherhood of the Way.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Ssc. Christian pacifist open-air mtgs. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends' Mta. Ho. Bush Road, E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

### FRIDAYS

**BIRMINGHAM:** 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

Only towards the very end of that struggle was something like a workable system achieved, but, according to Mr. Ehrman, it did not have sufficient time to establish itself in our constitutional procedures, and so the period just preceding and following the outbreak of World War II saw a repetition of the same sort of muddle and conflict, though, with the experience of 1914-18 to fall back upon, an adjustment was more quickly reached.

This consisted essentially in combining in one person the political and the military leadership, and in Churchill Britain found a man whose experience and almost demonic energy enabled him to fulfil the double task. He not only succeeded in combining the direction on both fronts, but also in co-ordinating and sub-ordinating the

## The war worth fighting

OUR dreams and hopes for a better and richer life now hang in the balance, and that is why I have appealed to the statesmen of the Great Powers to turn their backs upon war and the preparation of war, and to think and work for peace.

Small and insignificant as we are, Ghana is prepared to make any sacrifice towards the attainment of a lasting world peace. Sometimes I wonder whether it would not be helpful if we in Ghana—and all other like-minded nations—establish a separate Ministry of Peace as opposed to ministries of defence and war, which could devote itself exclusively to considering ways and means by which international tension could be reduced and understanding between the peoples of all nations increased.

This would inspire us all to dedicate our national energies and resources to the cause of universal peace and to the total happiness of mankind.

Imagine what we in Ghana could do with only an infinitesimal part of the monies squandered by the Great Powers of East and West upon atomic and hydrogen bombs, inter-continental missiles, and other weapons of mass destruction? With such financial resources we would fight the only war worth fighting in the modern world—the battle against poverty, disease, illiteracy and superstition.—Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, speaking at Cape Coast, Ghana, January 25.

it seems to me that we cannot satisfactorily prepare for war and for peace simultaneously, particularly total war. In other words, we must make a clear choice: *Total war or total peace!*

## NOTEBOOK

### Demonstration in Chicago

THINGS are looking up in Chicago. Bradford Lytle, Quaker peace worker in the city, tells me that the poster parade and leaflet distribution which they planned for April 5 was the largest demonstration they had had. They planned for 60 to 70 people turning out, but ended up with 160—180.

"We probably will be shooting for a very large demonstration here on Hiroshima Day," he writes. "I think, with adequate preparation and organisation, it ought to be possible to get out well over 1,000 people for some kind of open-air demonstration in Grant Park in Chicago's Loop."

He tells me they are very much encouraged by the movement which is developing in England against nuclear weapons. "Public sentiment is becoming stimulated in this country also," he adds.

### Verging on blasphemy

PRAYERS from a State planning mass homicide as a means of defence seem to me to verge on blasphemy."

This was the answer sent by Mrs. Esmé Wynne-Tyson to "The Avalon Group," publishers of a pamphlet asking the Government to proclaim a national day of prayer for "a spiritual solution to the thermo-nuclear stalemate."

The anonymous writer of the pamphlet unfortunately rejects the assurance "Sufficient is Thine arm alone and our defence is sure," for a section of the pamphlet is devoted to refuting Vinoba Bhavé's assertion that "The H-bomb has made non-violence the only alternative to extinction," and asserting that Britain must be strongly armed.

### Soper for the Services

SERVICEMEN continue to buy and read Peace News publications avidly.

Latest request has been for 100 copies of the Peace News reprint of Dr. Donald Soper's "Arms? Britain Should Scrap the Lot!"

We were asked to send them to the camp in a plain envelope, however. "I doubt if the good work of the PPU is properly appreciated by regular officers," said the purchaser. The Editor

PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1, and 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

### PERSONAL

**GOING ABROAD.** Advocate, maintain and urge liberty of freedom to travel wide world without vaccination, etc. Enquire and send donation: National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26-28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1, England.

**MARRIAGE BETWEEN Brown and Brooks.** May 24 at Horfield Friends Meeting House, Owen Brown to Margaret Brooks, both Bristol Central PPU Group.

**SPEAKING AND WRITING** lessons (correspondence, visit), 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PR1mrose 5686.

**IF YOU SHOP** at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase: L 3 3 6 9 4 3

Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

**LADIES AND GENTLEMEN**, all ages, wanted to give voluntary assistance to world peace organisation. Write: M.A.N.'S ASSOCIATION, Dept. PWPP, 729 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles 38, California, U.S.A.

**WAR RESISTERS'** International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

**WE CAN HELP YOU.** Use these columns to advertise your services, sell your products and seek your needs. Write to the Advertisement Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

**WE INVITE ENQUIRIES** about our work for international friendships. SAE details, "Caravan" (PN), 84 St. Thomas's Rd., London, N.4.

**YOUNG MAN**, soon returning to the East, seeks similar believer in world Oneness and true religion as correspondent. Box 781.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

**MIDDLE AGED** active lady offered pleasant bed sitting room, food, etc., in exchange for certain domestic duties; vegetarian cooking for two ladies. Mrs. Boucher, 34 Hill Rise, N.W.11.

**DOCTOR NATUROPATHY** needs assistant; no investment, profit sharing; car driver preferred. Box 782.

**PEACE NEWS OFFICE** IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook stations), Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4

**CAPABLE**, country-loving young women required from September to help in farmhouse in beautiful part of N. Wales. Quaker family consists of Llewellyn and Evelyn Evans, four children, one farmworker and two African farm students. Extra help employed to assist with housework. Apply to Trallwyn, Chwilog, Caernarvonshire.

## Two Peace News Supplements:

### THIS WAS ALDERMASTON

The fully illustrated report of the Easter march to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment

5s. a doz., 25s. a 100 post free  
(6d. each plus 2d. postage)

### PEACE OR ATOMIC WAR?

By Dr. Albert Schweitzer

The full text of his Oslo broadcasts in April

3d. each (postage 2d.); 3s. a doz.  
21s. a 100 post free

### PEACE NEWS

3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.





No. 1,144 May 30, 1958. 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## 'No place to hide' H-DISPLAY OPENS

By Christopher Farley

THE crime of the century was exposed in London this week. Preparation for total nuclear warfare was shown in its true light by the opening of a compelling exhibition, "No Place to Hide," by the Hampstead Group of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The exhibition demonstrates the irrelevance of official statements, the lie of civil defence, the shortsightedness of the deterrent theory, and the agony of nuclear atrocities. As a challenge to the imagination it goes straight home. Children under 16 are not admitted.

Statements, charts, explanations and enormous pictures of politicians and victims, all are there. The Home Office has forbidden the use of one of its official releases as it would have been put alongside reality. The panel is left blank and marked "censored."

Kingsley Martin, Editor of the New Statesman, opening the exhibition on Whit Monday, declared: "I believe there is a 100 per cent, case for unilateral nuclear disarmament, if only because you cannot persuade others not to have the bombs when you have them yourself . . . I can see only one way in which a showdown can be

How many  
new PN  
readers  
can you  
get this  
week?

# 'HELP SAVE US FROM CIVILISATION'

—HOPI INDIAN NATION

THE independence and way of life of the Hopi Indian Nation—known as "the Peaceful People" and the "Quakers of the Desert"—is threatened by two Bills before the US Congress. The traditional Hopi leaders and other American Indians are opposing these which they call the "biggest threat of all."

The Hopi people—4,500 of them—live atop arid "mesas" (tablelands) near the Grand Canyon of upper Arizona.

They have never fought a war against the US Government, have never been conquered by it, and have never signed away their independence in any treaty. The traditional Hopi believe that their pacifist way of life is better than the white man's, and want to be allowed to pursue it without hindrance from a war-making Government.

Their outstanding leader, Dan Kachongva, in speaking of the Hopi beliefs, has said that all the instructions of the Great Spirit came from "the seed of ONE basic instruction: 'You must not kill; you must love your neighbour as yourself.'"

"From this one commandment to respect and reverence life came all the other commandments."

It has been over 420 years since the white man came to Hopi Land. Through the years the Hopis have suffered at their hands.

Promises and treaties have been repeatedly broken by the white man. During the past 50 years the oppression of the Hopi has increased drastically.

They have had to oppose a "Hopi Tribal Council" which the traditional Hopis say is illegal and a puppet of the US Government's Indian Bureau.

Their way of life is now threatened by the two Bills before the Congress: Bill S. 692 (which has already passed the Senate) and Bill H.R. 3789.

Bill S. 692 declares that the Indian lands described in the Executive order of Dec. 16, 1882 "are hereby declared to be held by the United

States in trust for the Indians who are entitled to be thereon pursuant to such Executive order."

It also establishes jurisdiction of US Courts over conflicting land claims and boundaries of the Hopi and Navajo Indian nations and legalises the sale of tribal land with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior—something inconceivable to the traditional Hopis, who believe they simply hold the land in trust for the Great Spirit.

As hearings are now pending on Bill H.R. 3789, friends of the Hopis are urged to especially protest against it.

This Bill includes the same basic points as Bill S. 692 with one important addition:

This allows that "Until the adjudication authorised by this Act is completed, the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorised to lease for mining purposes to the extent necessary to make the maximum economic use of the area, any lands described in the Executive order of Dec. 16, 1882 . . . the authorisation of neither the Hopi nor the Navajo Indians shall be required. . . ."

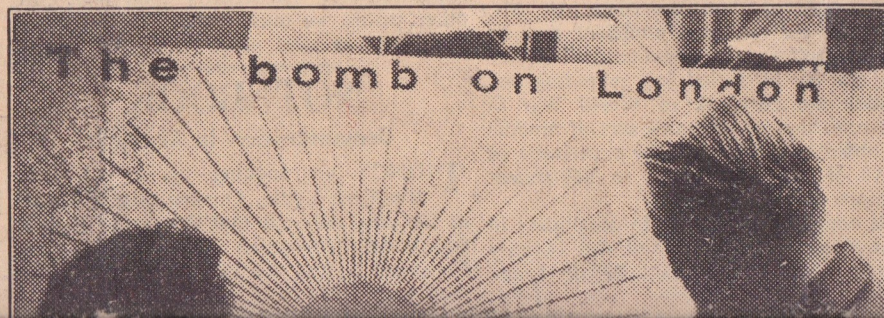
### PLEA FOR ACTION

The traditional Hopis have refused to allow the minerals to be mined, because if they were they would be appropriated by the US war machine and used for little but destruction.

The Hopis say: "When you white men learn how to get along with each other and become human beings, when you show us that you CAN live in peace, then you can take the minerals out of the ground, and we will share them equally for the benefit of all men and all life."

A letter received by Peace News from the League of North American Indians, *Wemikwischen Keewaykenos*, states:

"These Bills were drafted and introduced to Congress without the knowledge or consent of the majority of the Hopi people, or





admitted.

Statements, charts, explanations and enormous pictures of politicians and victims, all are there. The Home Office has forbidden the use of one of its official releases as it would have been put alongside reality. The panel is left blank and marked "censored."

Kingsley Martin, Editor of the New Statesman, opening the exhibition on Whit Monday, declared: "I believe there is a 100 per cent. case for unilateral nuclear disarmament, if only because you cannot persuade others not to have the bombs when you have them yourself . . . I can see only one way in which a showdown can be stopped—such a great agitation in countries such as this, and France and Germany."

The exhibition, which is brilliantly conceived and executed, is open today (Friday) from 3 p.m. to 8.30 and tomorrow from 11 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. at the Friends Meeting House, 120 Heath Street, London, N.W.3 (near Hampstead Underground station). Next week it will start to tour the country throughout the summer, and probably next winter as well. Bookings are already advanced, and may be made by local Campaign groups through Mr. Michael Hussey, 22 Platt's Lane, London, N.W.3.

**THE** meaning of the word "cenotaph" is: "a monument to one who is buried elsewhere," and some dictionaries give it as "an empty tomb."

Until mankind became involved in a world war, memorials to those killed in battle were usually carved and moulded to represent figures in uniform, equipped with the weapons they had carried in the fight.

It was only when millions of young men had been slaughtered in the name of peace that the fashion changed. Then, all over Europe, there sprang up "empty tombs"; now, whenever a foreign King, Queen, President or other potentate comes, or goes, on a State visit, the first empty gesture is the presentation of an enormous and costly wreath to the dead in two world wars.

This custom could scarcely be called "propaganda"; it is simply an emotional habit, in the same way as the Two Minutes' Silence, for all the military panoply that accompanies it on Remembrance Sunday, is now perfunctory and almost meaningless.

On the first anniversary of the 1918 Armistice, when all traffic stopped; when drivers got out of their buses, lorries, taxis and cars to stand beside them bareheaded;

admitted.

order of Dec. 16, 1882 "are hereby declared to be held by the United



The Bomb over Piccadilly Circus.

Photo: E. Loeser.

By Sybil Morrison

## THE EMPTY TOMB

*Can nothing be done to stop this desecration of the Cenotaph by the laying of wreaths for mere propaganda purposes by all and sundry?*

Letter in The Daily Telegraph, May 26, 1958.

*Well might the dead who struggled in the slime  
Rise and deride this sepulchre of crime.—Siegfried Sassoon.*

when everyone, wherever they were, walking the street, shopping, cooking or in their offices, remained motionless and silent upon the first sound of the 11 o'clock maroons there was a sense of suspended animation and unity of thought, which could have released a power to lift mankind to heights from which real resistance to war might have come; but emotion is not enough to sustain a campaign, and the majority believed that the war to end wars had achieved its aim.

The Cenotaph to-day is not only an empty tomb; it is a bitter memorial to those who died in vain. This is a harsh and cruel truth; to lay a wreath there with this certain knowledge in mind would be a most desperate betrayal of truth; only those who

believe otherwise could do it in honesty.

The cry of The Daily Telegraph correspondent is angry only because he has not awakened to the truth; he still believes, no doubt, that those whom the Cenotaph commemorates were glorious in their dying, and achieved the purpose for which it is alleged that they died.

War is, in fact, not glorious; the First World War was nothing but a grim, long-drawn-out conflict between young men trained to kill each other, who had no quarrel with each other, and the survivors remember chiefly the mud and slime, the misery and the fear.

The Second World War, fought largely in the air, could scarcely be called "glorious." Obliteration bombing, the bursting of the

the US war machine and used for little but destruction.

The Hopis say: "When you white men learn how to get along with each other and become human beings, when you show us that you CAN live in peace, then you can take the minerals out of the ground, and we will share them equally for the benefit of all men and all life."

A letter received by Peace News from the League of North American Indians, *Wemikwischen Keewaykenos*, states:

"These Bills were drafted and introduced to Congress without the knowledge or consent of the majority of the Hopi people, or the recognised Hopi leaders and spokesmen. Such unwarranted action is obviously undemocratic, un-American, and un-defensible in a court of justice."

Friends of the Hopis have urged that protests against Bill H.R. 3789 be sent immediately by letter and telegram to: Congressmen and the House of Representatives' Indian Affairs Sub-Committee, c/o Chairman James A. Haley, Washington 25, DC; and to President Eisenhower, asking him to veto these Bills if they are passed.

Messages of support for the Hopis may be sent to Dan Katchongva, Hopi Indian Nation, Hotevilla, Arizona, USA.

German dams, the dropping of the atom bomb, the shriek of falling bombs, the crumble of disintegrating buildings, the blind helplessness of "the black-out," are not glorious remembrances.

The evil consequences remain with us all to-day; instead of relief and thankfulness there is nothing but dread and resentment; instead of the certainty of victory nothing but the uncertainty of a most uneasy truce; instead of the clear sunlight of peace, the shadowed menace of the nuclear cold war.

Reliance upon war has brought this about; nuclear weapons are the logical consequence of the need for victory in war; when war is renounced and abandoned then the need for victory, and the weapons which might achieve it, will also be abandoned.

To lay wreaths upon a Cenotaph, for any reason whatever, is to baulk at this truth, to shelter behind emotion, and draw down a blind upon the vision which might release men from fear, and free them from the cruel demand to kill and be killed.

Where peace is concerned the Cenotaph is an anachronism; it is the symbol of the world's worst crime against God and humanity; when war is renounced, and not until then, can mankind be absolved, and take the first step towards peace.